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ABSTRACT

A framework is presented for analyzing the role of communicative and intercultural competence and their teachability in second language instruction. First, several problematic communication situations are examined in which: (1) a native English speaker and native Danish speaker with limited English converse; (2) native speakers of two languages converse, each using his native language (Swedish and English) and understanding the other language; and (3) native speakers of two languages (Swedish and Chinese) using a third (English) to communicate. Six specific sample situations are discussed. The concepts of communicative and cultural competence are then defined and their teachability and interrelationship are investigated. It is concluded that, contrary to conventional wisdom, knowledge of a language and culture, and sometimes even mastery of specific behaviors, does not necessarily lead to well-functioning communication. In addition, sometimes lack of mastery of an affective cultural component and very often lack of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness may even prevent people from using their linguistic or cultural knowledge and behaving appropriately, either linguistically or culturally. A 14-item bibliography is included. (MSE)

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Intercommunicative and intercultural competence

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson

The purpose of this paper is to present a tentative framework for analysing intercommunicative and intercultural competence and to consider their teachability in foreign and second language learning. As a means of coming to grips with these issues, we shall first analyze a number of examples which have in common that the communication is problematical. In all of them there is at least the risk of a communication breakdown or communication disruption.

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The participants in our examples are of three kinds:
- learner + native speaker (Danish and English respectively, communication in English)
- native speakers of two languages, each using their mother tongue and understanding the other language (Swedish and English)
- native speakers of two languages, using a third to communicate in (Swedish and Chinese, communicating in English).

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We define communication disruption as occurring when mutual comprehension is impaired
- by the learner being manifestly in trouble in understanding an utterance or in putting across what she/he wants to say (cf Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 143), or by the native speaker not understanding a learner utterance
- by one or both of the speakers not being able to understand the cultural meaning of a concept or the cultural context of a stretch of discourse.

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Presence of a communication disruption will often be signalled by hesitation or non-verbal signals (see Færch & Kasper 1983 b). Either one or both of the speakers may

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have recourse to a communication strategy.

The nature of the communication disruption may be exclusively or mostly linguistic (a language code problem), or at the other extreme, it may be exclusively or mostly cultural, or it may involve both linguistic and cultural elements. When trying to solve the problem, the participants have to use their communicative or cultural competence or both.

Participants may or may not be aware that there is a communication disruption. If they themselves are not aware of the presence of a communication disruption, the presence of one can still be inferred by the researcher, for instance it may be apparent from the outcome. If the participants are aware of the disruption, they may or may not have the motivation to do something about it. If they have such motivation, they may or may not be able to locate the source of the difficulty. If they are able to locate the source, they may or may not be able to do something about it[1].

EXAMPLE 1

The first video extract comes from a 20-minute conversation between a native speaker (NS) of English (female) who has no knowledge of Danish, and a Danish learner (L) of the same age (male) with five years of English learning in school behind him. They have never met before, both knew they were expected to chat about their interests and were unaware or the research goals, except in very general terms. We tried to set up an informal, relaxed

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1. These distinctions parallel the components which we are going to use later in analysing competence. Being or not being aware would correspond to metacommunicative and metacultural awareness, motivation to the affective component, being able to locate to the knowledge component, and being able to do something to the behavioural component.

situation in which genuine communication could be elicited[2]. The two are discussing people moving out of Copenhagen to the surrounding region. The extract shows a learner with a lexical problem: he does not know the term for a detached house in English. Initially he borrows the Danish equivalent "parcelhus".

Transcript	Comment	Strategies
NS: why do you think they do that?		
L: mm they want a 'parcelhuset'	= a detached house	borrowing
NS: uhuh what's that?		
L: erm it's a house erm it it's not an apartment	gesture indicates a plot of land	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: mm		
L: but it's a big house where just THEY live	gesture models a house	paraphrase +non-verbal
NS: oh I see a a sort of totally detached house	gesture, in shape of a house	
L: yeah		

(Haastrup & Phillipson 1983, 147)

In this example both the learner and the native speaker
- are aware of the disruption. They are very interested in trying to communicate with each other and are
- motivated to solve the problem, which is
- easy to locate, because it is clearly a lexical one. Both have
- the cultural competence needed, i.e. they know what a detached house looks like in each culture. They also have

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2. Examples 1 and 4 come from the Copenhagen project PIF (Projekt I Fremmedsprogspædagogik - project in foreign language pedagogy). One part of the spoken corpus consists of 120 videotaped 20-minute conversations between Danish learners and native speakers of English. Details of project publications can be obtained from PIF, Engelsk Institut, Njalsgade 84, 2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark.

- the communication strategies available to solve the problem: first the learner resorts to an L1-based strategy, namely borrowing from Danish, which baffles the native speaker, who asks for clarification. The learner uses two paraphrases together with gestures, the native speaker then provides the appropriate lexical item, and
- the problem is solved.

EXAMPLE 2

Our next example comes from our experience when translating a book about Chinese pre-school education from Swedish to English (Liljeström et al, in press). A group of six Swedish professionals from different fields visited China. In their book they compare Chinese upbringing and child health care and the ideologies underpinning them with the corresponding Swedish or Western ones. In translating the book we were then dealing with two languages, Swedish and English, and three cultures, Swedish, Chinese and British (with glances at other cultures of native English-speakers outside Britain). It should perhaps be noted that each of us is native, both linguistically and culturally, to one of the languages involved. Our examples are of two notions. These have different meanings in the two (or three) cultures, so that a translation which would be purely linguistically correct in other contexts or correct use of a concept without trying to define it would lead to misunderstandings, because of the different cultural contexts. The concepts we use as examples are "discussion" and "obedience".

The Swedish text states that in relation to a particular social policy issue there have been "diskussioner", but a literal translation of this into English as "discussions" is inappropriate. A non-Swedish reader cannot be expected to understand "discussions" as meaning fierce disputes and conflicts, which is what the Swedish author is euphemistically referring to. The English translation has to be "disputes" or "contention". Swedish culture is often described by cultural anthropologists as conflict-

avoiding (cf Alsmark 1981, Bratt Paulston 1982, Carle, Schale & Bjurström 1981), and there is a strong tendency to state matters in an ultra-discreet, non-provocative way. Constructive conflicts are a good thing, but it is a sign of bad manners to talk about conflicts - they have to be called something else.

Translating "diskussioner" as "disputes" shows that
- we are aware of the risk of misunderstanding, and
- are as translators motivated to avoid it. We are also
- able to locate this as
- a cultural rather than a linguistic problem, and can
- draw on relevant cultural knowledge
- to solve the problem.

Our first two examples, the "detached house" and "diskussioner=disputes", are examples of communication problems being successfully solved. The problem in the first example was primarily linguistic and in the second primarily cultural. Next we shall move to problems which do not get solved.

EXAMPLE 3
Had we instead translated "diskussioner" as "discussions", this would have been a clear case of
- the language users not being aware of the potential communication disruption, hence
- motivation to avoid this, and
- ability to locate the problem, whether of a linguistic or a cultural kind, does not arise, thus
- the problem is not solved.

Only a bilingual-bicultural analyst would be able to notice the problem, and the English-speaking reader of the book would be deprived of some of the cultural content of the source text. Even if examples 2 and 3 use written data, the analysis can be generalized to oral communication situations as well. In fact in spoken interaction, communication disruptions due to lexical transference from L1 may be

easier to spot, both for participants and for analysts, because of the possibility of immediate feedback.

EXAMPLE 4

In our fourth example (see note 2), we again have a native speaker interacting with a learner. The lack of symmetry between the participants is almost complete, with on the one hand, a native speaker, male and distinctly middle class, on the other, a learner, female and working class. This type of situation can be described in terms of unequal power relations, great distance and low degree of solidarity (eg. Scollon & Scollon 1983) all of which can be seen in the participants' non-verbal communication too. What the participants in this example do manage to talk about is multinational popular youth culture (films, pop music etc.). Whereas when it comes to more personal matters there is a serious cultural breakdown. Irrespective of the linguistic competence of the interlocutors, the boy's lack of awareness of the girl's economic and social conditions is enough to cause communication disruptions. The girl has told him, earlier on on the tape

- that her mother is a widow
- that the mother does not work outside the home because
- she has three small children to take care of, meaning most probably
- that they live on social welfare, and
- that the girl works at a baker's shop 17 hours every week-end, in order to make ends meet.

Even so he enquires whether she spends her holidays abroad and will go on to upper secondary school, the Danish "gymnasium".

The physical differences between the participants are also striking. He is well-groomed, self-confident, aloof and superficially friendly; his gestures and body movements are few but well-rehearsed. She is short, very overweight, plainly dressed and with no make-up; her hair is short, straight and looks greasy; she smiles and titters nervously throughout the conversation, sitting with hunched shoulders;

she is anxious to please, despite her discomfort and clear lack of self-confidence in the situation. Underlining indicates simultaneous speech.

"NS during the summer holidays er what sort of things do you do

L mm - tst - I go to the movie

NS yeah

L and - I go to some friends and we talked and

NS yeah don't you erm go abroad to erm Germany France

L no (laughs)

NS you

L no I didn't

NS you don't

L no

NS would you like to go abroad

L yes

NS so what countries would you like to visit

L Engli´ England

NS why England

L I love it (laughs) I like erm German too but - - I didn't have the chance to get there

NS no - so if you were able to go to England what sort of things would you be doing in England

L erm I like to work

NS you'd like to work there

L yes as a air pair "pige" er air pair girl

NS au pair girl yeah

L yeah - or in a shop if I can do it mm

NS yeah - (laughs)

L (laughs)

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NS that's not too bad erm for the future what sort of things would you like to do

L I er like to do er I like to be a "picolain" if it you know what's that is

NS no try and explain it

L it's erm a a person who er ran to the office with letters and food and everything

NS mm I think I know what er you

L oh

NS mean then er - so are you thinking of going on to gymnasium

L no

NS no

L no (laughs)

NS (laughs) so you want to leave school

L yes (laughs)

NS so you can work

L I have a j' er I can catch er a job in the Righos' Rigs-hospital

NS yeah

L and I think I have it (laughs)

NS you can get it

L yeah

NS oh er I was in er Rigshospitalet er when I first came to Denmark for two weeks had er something wrong with my leg

L ah

NS and they fixed it so so you want to work there what about when you get married are you going to get married

L yes (laughs) I will have two children

NS two children

L a girl and a boy

NS a girl and a boy

L yes I like small children very much

NS yeah so how old is your youngest sister

L she's three years yeah

NS she's three yeah I think you just told me I can't couldn't remember at all."

Looking at this extract from the point of view of the communication disruption with "picolain", both are
- aware that the learner lacks a lexical item for "office messenger". She provides a paraphrased exemplification to get the concept of this job across, and the native speaker claims to understand. One can question whether he has
- the motivation to contribute to solving the problem.

The learner
- resorts to an appropriate communication strategy, but there is
- doubt about the outcome
- as we can infer from the complete inappropriacy of the native speaker's follow-up question "so are you thinking of going on to gymnasium?"

What could be seen as an isolated linguistic, lexical problem, turns out to be a problem of intercultural mismatch, which is difficult to locate. Neither of the participants has enough insight into the other person's national culture (or subculture) and at least the boy is unaware of both her class culture and of the unstated presuppositions of his own class culture and what this implies for communication. Is it fair to conclude that complete interlinguistic competence might still fail to result in mutual understanding?

EXAMPLE 5

Our fifth example again comes from the China book. Speaking English, the Chinese and the Swedes or the interpreter use concepts like obedience. On many occasions the Swedes note that one or the other or both parties simply do not understand each other. This occurs for instance when the

Swedes ask how conflicts caused by aggressive behaviour are solved in the pre-school. Chinese pre-school children are simply not aggressive. This is difficult to understand for the Swedes (even if they can observe it), and the Chinese have difficulties in understanding what the Swedes are asking about (even if they are familiar with these questions from other Western delegations).
The Swedish sociologist Rita Liljeström analyses the notion of obedience in the two cultures (Liljeström et al., in press):

"While being obedient is almost suspect in Sweden, it is endorsed as something positive in China ... Obedience is interpreted as subordination and resignation in Sweden and as confirmation and identification in China ... While we have reacted against authoritarian leadership, the Chinese have laid emphasis on the good teacher and the force of example ... Among us Swedes I detect a tendency to be exhilarated whenever we meet noisy or slightly boisterous children, children who interrupt grown-ups or step out of line. Someone exclaims: "A healthy sign! " We applaud any deviation, every departure from the pattern. What does this say about us? What do we take for granted?

	Implications of:	
	Obeying	Not obeying
[Sweden]	Drill Collective discipline/ uniformity	Revolt, freedom Individuality Creativity
[China]	Co-ordination Shared goals Solidarity	Deviance Egoism Disruption "

Liljeström shows that the participants are mostly
- aware of the communication disruption. They
- want to understand, and they can
- locate it as not a linguistic but a cultural problem. Many of the Swedes have at least some of
- the theoretical intercultural background knowledge needed, or acquire it during the trip, and many of them try in their articles to use it.

Several of them analyze the Chinese notion of obedience and the corresponding Swedish notion. They compare them, and they even try to analyze their own Swedish or Western notions as a Chinese would see them. But still they

- do not succeed in solving their communication problems completely.

Our analysis is that their understanding is blocked because they lack the affective element in their cultural competence. We will come back to this later, in analyzing cultural competence.

EXAMPLE 6

Our last example comes from our own communication, and is, we suspect, common in many intercultural marriages and generally in intercultural contact. We often have discussions (or are they disputes?) resulting in at least partial misunderstandings, the cause of which we are unable to locate. We suspect that over and above the type of marital disagreements and misunderstandings that are more or less normal in monolingual monocultural marriages too, we still have a specific group where breakdowns are of an interlinguistic and/or intercultural kind. We could provide plenty of examples of linguistic and especially cultural difference which affect our communication, but it is logically impossible for us to supply a succinct example of a disruption the cause of which we are unable to locate. We then have a situation where we are

- aware of the problem at the behavioural level but
- not always able to solve it, regardless of the
- motivation to solve it and, as we think,
- a high degree of interlinguistic and intercultural competence, which we however are unable to draw on as long as we cannot locate the problem.

To sum up our examples, several steps are involved when a communication disruption occurs (see Figure 1).

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The problem remains unsolved

- if the participants are unaware of or do not recognize the problem, as in the "diskussion=discussion"example (3)
- if either of the participants, even though aware of the problem, lacks the motivation to solve it, as with the boy in the "picolain-gymnasium"example (4 boy)
- if the participants are both aware of the problem and motivated to solve it but are unable to locate it, as in our intercultural communication (6)
- if the participants are aware, motivated and able to locate the communication breakdown, earmark it as being primarily cultural or primarily linguistic, but where the attempts to repair fail, as in the "obedience"example (5) (a cultural problem) or the borrowing of the Danish word "parcelhus" in the "detached house"example (1).

The problem is solved

- if participants are aware that there is a problem, are motivated to solve it, able to locate it, and can either draw on appropriate cultural knowledge, as in the "diskussioner=disputes"example (2), or activate linguistic resources in order to achieve the desired effect, as with the combination of paraphrases and non-verbal strategies in the "detached house"example (1).

In interaction, solution of the problem requires that both participants actively negotiate meaning. This happens in the "detached house"example, but in the "picolain-gymnasium"example (4) the girl's adequate efforts are not matched by a corresponding motivation to negotiate on the part of the boy. Here the girl's paraphrase could have solved the problem, but mutual understanding is not reached because of the boy's unwillingness to negotiate meaning.

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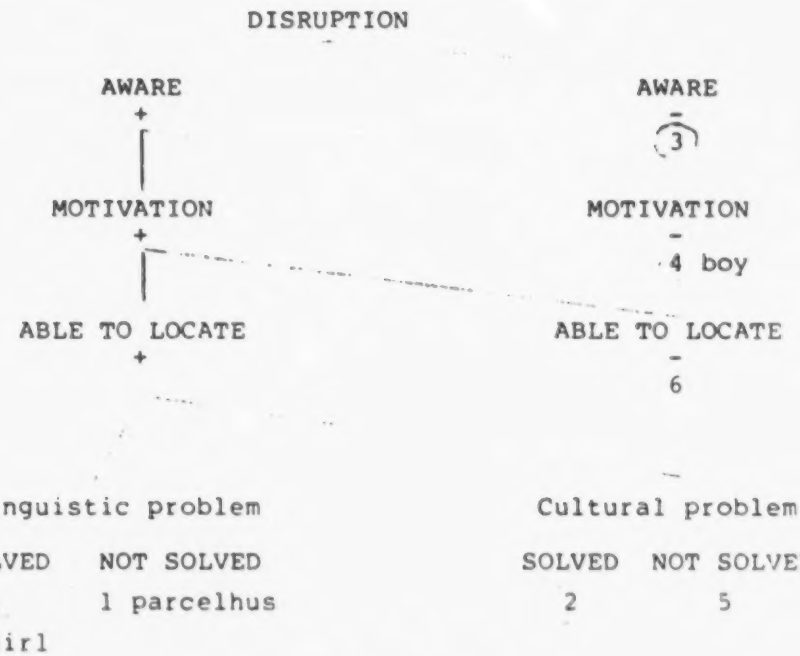
Figure 1



We shall now go on to make more explicit what kind of linguistic and cultural competence speakers draw on when trying to solve communication disruptions. We shall first discuss what we mean by communicative competence and cultural competence, and then try to tie them together in relation to their teachability in foreign and second language classrooms.

COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

Our conception of communicative competence (coco) operates with a combination of constituents covering

linguistic competence (lexis, grammar, orthography/phonology)

pragmatic competence (the speech acts with put linguistic competence to use, which mark appropriately for such interpersonal parameters as levels of formality or politeness - sometimes calles "speech act modality" - and discourse cohesion)

fluency, in the sense of being able to activate one's prag-

matic and linguistic competence with ease, and strategic competence, where strategic is restricted to the problem-solving devices that speakers resort to to overcome difficulties of communication, like the paraphrases used in example 1 (see Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson, 1983). All four components are necessary for any description of native speaker competence or interlanguage competence. Linguistic and pragmatic competence are related in that linguistic competence is subsumed under pragmatic comptence (called sociolinguistic competence by Canale and Swain). Fluency and strategic competence are related in the sense that they both have to do with the activation of pragmatic competence, fluency covering the speaker's ability to make use of whatever linguistic and pragmatic knowledge s/he has, while strategic competence comes into play whenever there is a problem in linguistic or pragmatic competence, for instance a gap between what a speaker wants to say and has the words for - in this sense strategic competence is compensatory.

Interlanguage studies initially concentrated on aspects of linguistic competence, eg error analysis of segmental phonetic problems or syntactic items. These were then extended in attempts to gauge native speaker tolerance of interlanguage speakers' shortcomings in each of the different components of coco. Findings that, for instance, lexical errors are vastly more disruptive than grammatical errors, but that tolerance of even lexical errors depends very much on context (Albrechtsen,Henriksen & Færch 1980) have immediate implications for language pedagogy.

There has also been a shift in interlanguage research in recent years towards a greater concern with pragmatic and strategic competence, this of course parallelling developments in language teaching.

Thus for Germany there is an increasing amount of documentation of learners' difficulties in handling the pragma-

tics of English. For instance the brusqueness or abruptness that can characterise IL users when making a request or complaint can be due to them making the speech acts more directly than native speakers do, using fewer routinized formulae, and structurally simpler ways of realizing a pragmatic function, and marking inadequately for politeness (Kasper, 1981).

A good deal of work has been done to find out what precisely strategic competence consists of, what options are open to interlanguage users, which strategies are actually used, and how successful they are (Færch, Kasper 1983). The evidence from Danish research indicates that there is a great deal of variety in the way different learners use different strategies, but that those which are interlanguage based rather than L1 based are more likely to lead to success or mutual comprehension (Haastrup, Phillipson 1983). Some work has been done in Danish schools to raise the consciousness of Danish learners in relation to strategic competence, where the provisional findings are that learners can benefit from being instructed about strategies, in particular that "weaker" students can put this increased awareness to good use. (The learners in examples 1 and 4 exploit their strategic competence effectively). It is also our impression that teachers of foreign languages consider the concept of strategic competence a godsend - it gives them a label for a pedagogical reality they are very familiar with - "Don't give up - say it in a different way" - and which helps to make coco something manageable and useful rather than abstract and elusive.

That learners can benefit from metacommunicative awareness holds not only for strategic competence but for all the constituents of coco. The narrow metalinguistic knowledge of the "grammar-translation" method needs to be expanded to cover knowledge of pragmatic functions, knowledge about language learning processes, and knowledge of the expected benefits from various types of language learning activity. Learners should have a general awareness of how coco can

be built up. In fact we would claim that in foreign language learning, one dimension of interlinguistic communicative competence should be metacommunicative awareness (i.e. conscious knowledge) of the constituents of the four components of coco, and how each can be pursued. For instance, one possibility would be for the learners in our examples to analyze the videotapes of them communicating with the native speakers. They could benefit not only from noting gaps in their vocabulary or pragmatic competence but also from an increased insight into the specific ways they use to try to solve communication problems and the relative success or failure of them.

A further parameter that needs consideration is the notion of context-embedded and context-reduced language, which is so prominent in North American bilingualism studies (e.g. Cummins 1980). It is certainly also relevant in discussing syllabuses for foreign languages as school subjects, but even more relevant in designing syllabuses for second language learners. Second language learners, especially children, typically acquire a good context-embedded competence outside formal instruction, and this competence often leads parents and teachers to misjudge minority children's linguistic competence (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). The acquisition of context-reduced competence, which is imperative for scholastic success, needs much greater prominence in minority learners' syllabuses.

To sum up our consideration of coco so far, interlanguage research can clarify the nature of intercommunicative competence, can serve to identify gaps in learners' linguistic and pragmatic competence and problems in fluency and strategic competence. Such work can provide input into syllabuses which specify coco along these four parameters. Language pedagogy draws on descriptions of native speaker and interlanguage coco, and on psycholinguistic models of L2 learning, and devises language learning activities deriving from these.

FROM COCO TO CUCO

However, as we saw when tracing the genesis and solution of communication disruptions, the problems are not of a linguistic nature only. Where then does cultural competence come in? Is cultural competence a tiny sub-division of pragmatic competence - which some pragmatists might lead one to believe? Or is cultural competence, cuco, something quite distinct from communicative competence - which the division of many "modern" language departments into "Language" and "Literature" (meaning Kultur with a K) sections seems to imply? Meaning that novice foreign language teachers are expected to effect a merger of linguistic and cultural (meaning literary) competence on the day they start teaching. The EFL (Englich as a Foreign Language) tradition provided comprehensive training on the language side, but assumed nativeness or near-nativeness on the culture side, which therefore remained unanalyzed and not explicitly taught.

Applied linguists do not seem to have tried to make explicit the relationship between coco and cuco. Either they have shoved cuco into some sort of residual ragbag along with other unwanted or uncomfortable oddments, or it has been somehow implicit in the socio-part of sociolinguistic competence, and related to textual choice, to markers of politeness, or reduced to good or bad manners in knowing when to shut up.

Cultural anthropologists might on the other hand classify language as a tiny sub-division of culture, and linguistic or communicative competence as one part of cultural competence, not even always an important part (because there has been a lot of debate about whether or not a distinctive language is one of the defining criteria for an ethnic group). Our own notion of cultural competence draws on cultural anthropology and sociology. When assessing the relative importance of language and culture in relation to each other, we would like to stress four points:

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- language operates both as a tool, an instrument, and a tie, a symbol of identification and cultural continuity. Both functions have to be considered when assessing the relative importance of language for any one situation (Skutnabb-Kangas 1983)
- the relative importance attached to linguistic and/or cultural differences is affected by the affinity, the relative closeness, of the languages and cultures involved, and the expectations the relative closeness or otherwise evokes. We can then have the paradoxical situation where the importance of linguistic or cultural differences is played down in the case of very remote languages and cultures, because one does not expect similarity and is therefore positively surprised by even small similarities, while the importance of the differences may be accentuated in the case of closely related languages and/or cultures because one expects affinity and therefore notices even small differences with dismay
- "cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasize their native tongues as core values" ("those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components of a group's culture ... the heartland of the ideological system ... identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership" (Smolicz 1983,11). Thus for some cultural groups their culture can be maintained even if the members are unable to speak the language (Irish, unable to speak Gaelic). But for most cultural groups their language is the "principal carrier of their culture" (Smolicz 1983, 11). This relative importance of language for a cultural group explains much of the inter-individual variation in the significance accorded to culture and language respectively
- different situations call for different group loyalties to be acted out. In some situations the gender loyalty may be overriding (Tove identifying with a woman from another language group rather than with a man from the same language group). In other situations a joint ideological commitment or the shared experience of belonging to oppressed groups may be more important than sharing a

language. This explains much of the intra-individual variation.

In discussing cultural competence we are especially concerned with two issues: 1. can somebody have a native or near-native cultural competence in two or more cultures? and 2. to what extent can cultural competence be taught in foreign and second language classrooms?

The first question, the existence of genuine biculturalism, is parallel to the question of the possibility of genuine bilingualism, where the old negative view was that bilingualism was an unfortunate temporary phase between monolingualism in one language and monolingualism in another language. This process of language change was thought to take no more than three or four generations. During the time when bilingualism was looked upon in this negative way (and some people, even some researchers still do so) many phenomena, typical of bilinguals, were conceptualized and labelled in a negative way. Is this true of biculturalism now?

CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Cultural competence (cuco) can be analyzed in terms of three components or constituents, cognitive, affective and behavioural.

The cognitive/intellectual/scholastic/literary component relates to knowledge of the relevant culture. In the broadest definition of culture the cognitive component also includes knowledge of the language/languages pertaining to that culture. It includes knowing something about the history of that culture, knowing how different institutions function, how people behave and react, what they grow, eat, drink and think, how they live, what they wear, read, write and do, how they pattern their family life and how they bring up their children. We therefore operate with a very broad definition of culture covering both the material and ideological ways in which a group

organizes, understands and reproduces its life as a group. To a large extent these are things which can be taught, also to a certain extent to people who do not live in that culture, for instance to pupils in a foreign language classroom or to Swedes visiting China. And it is also important to stress that this type of cultural knowledge is something people can have about many different cultures at the same time. Knowing many cultures from this cognitive point of view is something additive. Knowledge relating to different cultures is not in competition. Rather knowing more about new cultures may add to the knowledge of those cultures that one already knows, especially ons's own, because the cultures are compared and contrasted and the differences highlight typical traits in each culture.

The affective/empathetic /identification component relates to one's (deep, positive) feelings about and attitudes towards a culture, an understanding of it from the inside, and an identification with it or parts of it, which includes accepting (most of) its norms and values (or, in cases where one does not accept them, still feeling so strongly about them that abandoning them requires a lot of emotional effort). For this type of feeling to develop, a person needs one of two things: either you have to grow up in that culture and become socialized into it at an age when you take it as self-evident because people you are close to mediate the culture to you and because you are not able to be analytically critical yet. Or, if these feelings come later in life, you have to have a very strong emotional motivation to become part of that culture, mostly either because you love somebody who comes from that culture, as in many mixed marriages, or sometimes because you reject your own culture and want to find something better (as many of those refugees who wanted to leave their country and who do not want to go back). An instrumental motivation, in Lambert's terms, does not seem to be enough.

Mostly the affective component of cultural competence is

something that cannot be taught, it has to be acquired by lived experience. That means that it is very difficult to teach in a foreign language classroom. It may be possible though to support the learning of it in a second language classroom for instance when teaching immigrants, even if most of the learning itself takes place outside the classroom.

We may also hypothesize that a strong affective component of cuco, a firm attachment to more than one culture, can be more problematic than having a cognitive knowledge of many cultures. This should obviously more often be the case if the two cultures have contradictory norms which cannot coexist simultaneously in the same person. This might for instance be the case if one of the cultures teaches that women should be submissive, and the other that they are equal to men and should be independent. If a woman firmly believes that she should be submissive, it is difficult to imagine that the same woman could also identify with a culture which demands her to feel equal and behave accordingly. A firm knowledge of the cultures and their history, with explanations for the various cultural traits, and a cognitively competent analysis of them does not always help either - and here vulgar Freudianism has done much harm and prevented people from understanding complex cultural and national and religious affiliations by claiming that once one knows something, this is easy to get rid of. The "obedience" example shows it clearly: even if both parties had a lot of cognitive knowledge of the norms in the other culture and knew the historical and social explanations for the material conditions which had caused each culture to regard obedience in its specific way, they did not really understand, in a hermeneutic sense, why the others did not after all think the same way as they.

Still we know that many people are bicultural, also affectively. Some modification is needed to the main "rule" about the impossibility of the simultaneous coexistence of competing norms in the same person. It seems obvious that

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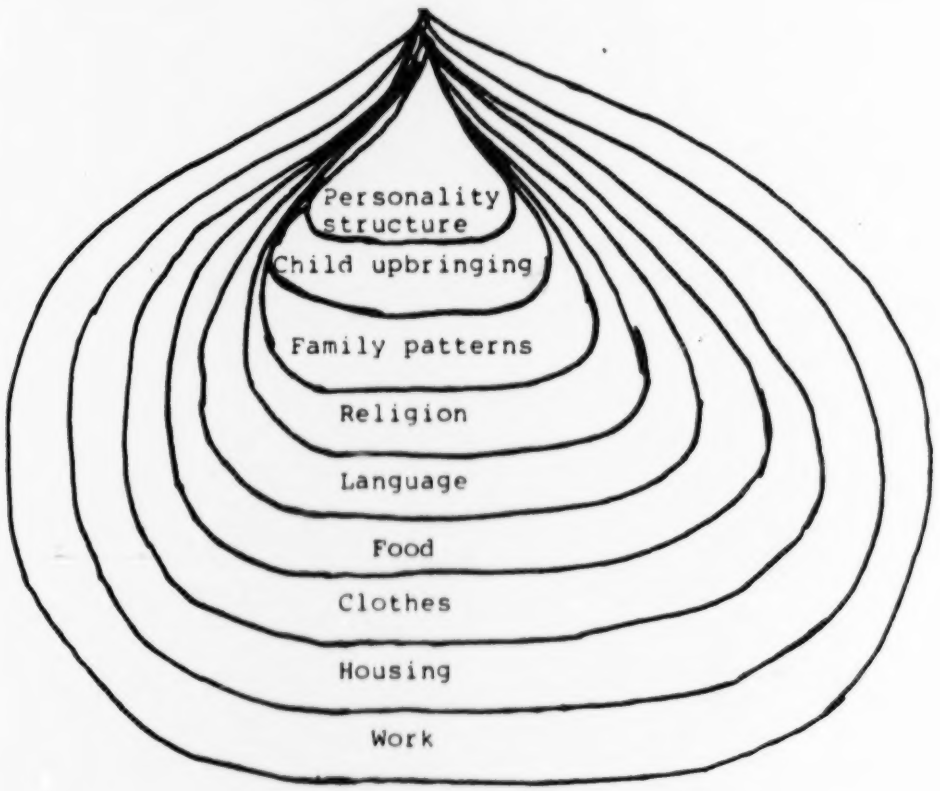
some aspects of culture are more superficial and less emotionally anchored (and in relation to them different norms may well coexist), while other aspects are more deeply anchored emotionally and more resistant to change (and therefore prevent an alternative norm from coexisting at the same time). We have used (in Rahbek Pedersen & Skutnabb-Kangas 1983) an image of cultural traits having the form of an onion, where it is easier for somebody who is confronted with a new culture to peel and change the outer layers, but where the innermost layers are much more inaccessible, more unconscious. Changing them or having several different sets of norms in relation to them evokes much more resistance and conflict. A reaction may then be to refuse to accept the new culture (active cultural self-segregation), or to refuse to accept a coexistence of two different norms and therefore abandon the old cultural norms (cultural assimilation).

Figure 2



Generally the most resistant aspects have to do with the reproduction of culture, aspects like family patterns and child upbringing (and this is where the "obedience" example comes in). This is understandable because a culture disappears if the essential core of it, "core values" according to Smolicz (1979), are not transmitted to the next generation, and therefore the circumstances around transmission must be central for any culture. And since personality structure in any culture is adapted to integrate into a coherent whole the mixture of norms and values of that culture, embodying all its norms and values, it seems to be the most difficult-to-change part of any culture. It also "guarantees" that new cognitive knowledge does not change the structure (= is not allowed "in"), unless it can be in some way incorporated into the totality of norms and values without causing too much upheaval, too many crises of identity. This process of incorporating new items and aspects seems above all to be an affective process, which to a certain extent is much less conscious that the incorporation of new cognitive knowledge - and this is for instance one of the many possible explanations for the difficulty in locating the sources of misunderstanding in intercultural communication, our Robert & Tove example.

We may also speculate whether functional differentiation of some kind makes it easier, at least during a transition phase, for contradictory cultural traits to coexist - they may be called for in different environments. This may though be more true at the behavioural level than at the affective level. It might for instance be possible for a 13-year old Turkish girl in Denmark to accept and live according to Turkish norms for how a teenage girl should behave when she visits Turkey or when she is at home in the Turkish quarters in a suburb of Copenhagen, and at the same time at least behave according to and maybe also accept Danish norms when at school. Or there may be other criteria than place for functional differentiation.

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It may operate according to time, mood, interlocutors, topic or the like. Another example, the role of women in relation to men: one of us does not find that there is any emotional contradiction between mostly feeling big, competent, independent, and resisting every attempt from any man to interfere in any decisions, and at other moments, not very often, feeling tiny and dependent and like "Oh Robert, you can decide everything ..." Those attitudes obviously represent absolutely contradictory ideologies and norms, and from the point of view of linear male Western rational logic it should be impossible for them to coexist without conflict. And still they do, without making either of us feel split-brained. So if it is possible for contradictory ideologies to coexist and be affectively well anchored in one culture, it must also be possible, to a certain extent, when one of the norms comes from one culture and the other from another culture.

Obviously there is no simple dichotomy "can/cannot co-exist", but we would anyway like to claim that it is much more difficult and requires more effort for differing cultural norms than lingustic norms to coexist, especially in relation to the affective component. We will come back to this in discussing integration/assimilation.

The third component of cultural competence is a behavioural component, the capacity to act in culturally appropriate ways with members of a given cultural group. We believe that in many cases it is possible to behave superficially according to the norms of another culture even without accepting its norms and values, if the benefits from doing so are big enough, and if one has the knowledge needed. A Scandinavian woman may thus cover her head and wear long sleeves when going to a village church in Sicily, without accepting that god demands it. Being cognitively competent in a foreign culture may lead to adequate behaviour, even if the affective cultural competence is lacking. But there may in this case be a fair amount of conscious acting, as though on the stage, when behaving according to the norms

of the other culture. But it seems to us that a certain amount of acceptance and understanding of the norms of the foreign culture is often needed, in addition to knowledge, in order to behave naturally in ways that are appropriate to a foreign culture which is different from one's own.

Behavioural competence can therefore be taught to a certain extent, even if the risk of trivialization and stereotyping is obvious in such teaching, and the behaviour resulting from teaching is often more or less unnatural even if it may seem superficially correct.

IS CUCO TEACHABLE?

If we, then, look at the teachability of cultural competence in different situations, one might hypothesize as follows:

- in a <u>foreign</u> language teaching situation it is possible to teach a fair amount of the knowledge component, very little of the affective component, and some of the more superficial aspects of the behavioural component, but with a risk of stereotyping
- in a <u>second</u> language teaching situation it is possible to teach (or learn without being taught, through living) a large amount of the knowledge component, and to support via teaching the acquiring of the affective component and the behavioural component.

Now we can come back to our examples and see whether we can find support for our assumptions about the teachability of cuco components in them. It seems to us that the girl in example 4, in addition to developing communicative competence in English in the ways this can be done in good classroom practice, would also need to be taught <u>metacultural awareness</u>, self confidence, assertivenes etc, in order to be able to communicate with the boy. And the boy would need to be taught not only how to communicate with interlanguage speakers (which he already knows something about) but also how to be more aware of his own cultural class-related presuppositions. But are these things that can be

taught at all, or taught in school? Is not the lack of metacultural awareness in both youngsters a reflection of their very different socio-economic positions which have prevented them from having other types of experience, meaning that you have to change their socio-economic position for them to be able to acquire the instruments they need for the communication to function? If this is the case, then the school can do little.

Looking at the "diskussion=dispute" and "obedience"examples, is there any way of teaching these things in a foreign language classroom? How can you learn what discussion means in a Swedish and a British context, unless you for many years take part in discussions, debates and disputes in both cultures? And how can you describe this type of difference to a learner, without the presentation becoming utterly boring and abstract, or witty but dangerously stereotyped?

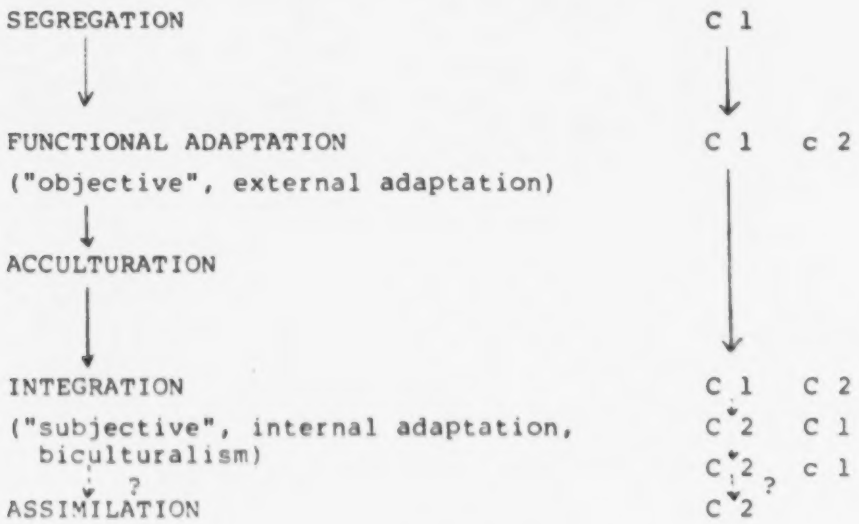
It should be more feasible to teach cuco in a second language learning situation, because the learner can verify classroom teaching in the world outside the classroom. But on the other hand the teaching in this case has to consider such ethical and political questions as whether it is <u>reasonable</u> to ask anybody to learn the behavioural and especially the affective components of another culture, and especially whether or not it is <u>possible</u> to acquire the affective component without at the same time losing some of one's original cultural competence. We shall therefore say a few words about the concepts of assimilation and integration.

INTEGRATION → ASSIMILATION?

We shall look at integration only from one specific point of view, namely as one phase in a development from segregation to assimilation for an immigrant who comes to a new country. We are very much aware of the different cultural meanings of the terms integration, assimilation and even immigrant in different countries, and use them here with

Scandinavian connotations (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1983). We are specifically interested in the relationship between integration and cultural competence in both the original culture and the new culture.

Figure 3



(C 1 = original culture, C 2 = new culture, size of letter = degree of dominance)

In this chain, segregation (either voluntary or forced, often for socio-economic reasons) is seen as the starting point. When the new immigrant arrives, s/he is culturally competent in the original culture, but s/he often does not know the language, institutions or customs of the new country. In this situation, living close to one's country-people who have come earlier gives a certain help and security. When the immigrant starts a functional adaptation, learns some of the language, becomes familiar with some of the most important institutions, sends the children to day care centres and schools, that is the beginning of an acculturation. When acculturation proceeds further, it means that the immigrant acquires the instruments needed to be able to function in the new country, to behave adequately superficially, meaning that s/he has acquired some

of the cognitive and behavioural components of cultural competence in the new culture, in addition to those of the original culture. But it does not mean that the immigrant has changed her or his ethnic identity - s/he still feels like a Turk, Finn, Yugoslav, Pakistani, etc. This functional or "objective" external adaptation thus means that the person has acquired enough of the external instruments of cultural competence in order to be able at the behavioural level to function like a "real" British or Danish or German person, but all the affective solidarity is still with the old culture.

In this analysis, integration would be the next step, namely not only a functional adaptation, but also accepting many of the norms and value judgements of the new society. But in order to differentiate integration from assimilation it is important to stress that this acceptance of the norms and values of the new culture should ideally be in addition to the norms and values of the original culture, not instead of them. The immigrant would thus be bicultural, and have two coexisting sets of norms and values. Some researchers call this phase subjective adaptation. At this state the immigrant would have the affective component of cultural competence in both cultures.

According to this way of looking at the process, assimilation would then be the last stage. Assimilation would mean that the immigrant would have accepted the norms and values of the new culture to the extent where that would mean a rejection of the norms and values of the old culture at the level of the affective component.

Figure 4

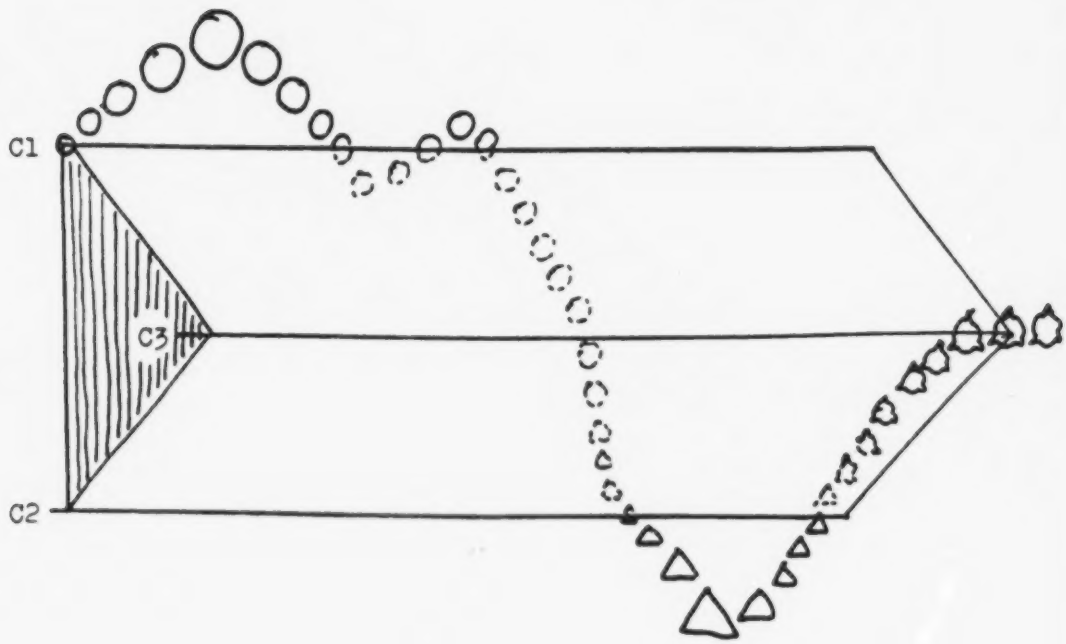
	ORIGINAL CULTURE			NEW CULTURE		
	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural	Know-ledge	Affec-tive	Beha-vioural
SEGREGATION	+	+	+	-	-	-
FUNCTIONAL ADAPTATION	+	+	+	-/+	-	-/+
ACCULTURATION	+	+	+	+	-	+
INTEGRATION	+	+	+	+	+	+
ASSIMILATION	+/-	-	+/-	+	+	+

The person would still have the knowledge component of the old culture, at least when it comes to everything that constituted that knowledge at the time of moving countries. But s/he would no longer have the affective component of cultural competence in the original culture, at least not fully - even if s/he might still be able to behave according to the norms of that culture in case that was needed (but there would be an emotional barrier to doing this). Figure 4 summarizes this development.

If we believe that coexistence of contradicting cultural norms, expecially at the affective level, is impossible or difficult, the conclusion must also be that integration in the sense used here is impossible. Then assimilation and acculturation would be the only alternatives.

One possible solution, which we think many migrants succeed in, after many years in a new country, is a qualitatively new combination. It could be called interculture, because it combines elements from both cultures, but it differs from interlanguage in that it does not have any of the cultures involved as a goal, a target. It is a new type of culture in its own right. It can in a way be seen as a result of the constructive struggle to try to fit contradicting norms together, instead of giving up and either becoming more intensely devoted to the original culture to the exclusion of the new (active self-segregation, be-

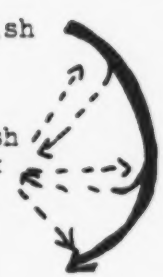
Figure 5

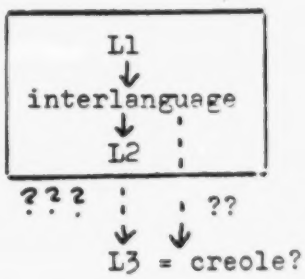


C1 ○ original culture
an "ordinary" Turkish
identity in Turkey

C2 △ "new" culture
an "ordinary" Danish
identity in Denmark

C3 ⌂ interculture
a completely new
cultural identity





coming for instance a Super-Turk in Denmark) or becoming more intensely devoted to the new culture than its original representatives to the exclusion of the original culture (overassimilation, becoming a Super-Dane in Denmark). Interculture might in the best possible cases lead to a positive relativization of both the cultures originally involved, i.e. a high metacultural awareness, to more empathy and understanding towards both (see Figure 5).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we now try to consider foreign language teaching from the point of view of the components of both coco and cuco, we have assumed thus far that linguistic, pragmatic, strategic competence and fluency can be taught, or at least learned. Coco was assumed to have a cognitive element, some of which is made explicit in metacommunicative awareness, and an implicit assumption was that language learning activities lead to a greater automatization of coco rules, in other words there was a behavioural element too. A psycholinguistic model would make explicit how such language learning takes place, and what processes are involved (see, for instance chapter 11 of Færch, Haastrup, Phillipson 1983).

The affective component of cuco, strong identification with the culture, is different in kind from a positive attitude to a school subject (though this of course helps learning) and is therefore not relevant for learners of foreign languages. It may well be that the francophilia, anglophilia, etc. characteristic of teachers of foreign languages - which might be interesting to analyse in more depth - corresponds to the affective component of cuco.

Most foreign language teaching in Europe explicitly aims at developing not only coco but also providing learners with a grounding in the cognitive component of cuco.

The Council of Europe Modern Languages Project has moved on from promoting the Threshold Level, individualisation, autonomy, and communicative language teaching to pay more

explicit attention to cultural goals, which were apparently there all along but not articulated (Council of Europe, 1981:173).

In foreign language teaching in Denmark there is a move towards cuco-type syllabuses which are coherent wholes, thematically structured, sometimes linked to such other school subjects as history or geography, as opposed to consisting of isolated facts or texts. Intercultural competence development goes hand in hand with activities for intercommunicative competence development; in other words the behavioural dimension inside and outside the classroom is designed, by teachers and learners, to lead to increased competence within each of those components that are realizable goals in classroom teaching. The role of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness is not merely to facilitate authentic and effective behaviour in the foreign language, but also to equip learners to consciously analyse and negotiate meaning in the foreign language. This would apply both at the level of the individual taking more responsibility for her or his own learning, and at the level of awareness of the role of the particular foreign language, for instance why English is so ubiquitous in Danish society. In case this picture looks too Utopian, while it is true that most foreign language teaching in Denmark does not live up to these ideals, there are exellent examples at classroom level of all the points made.

It seems to us that the more language-oriented part of foreign or even second language teaching, in moving from a cognitive-code approach via an audio-lingual one to more communicatively oriented approaches, has moved from a knowledge approach via crude behavioristic models to an approach which, even if it tries to incorporate a knowledge component, is mostly geared towards the output, the behaviour of the learner. The affective component has been touched upon only vaguely, by reference to motivation or an affective filter. And "affective" has been interpreted in a way which has made it a characteristic of the learner,

the same type of prerequisite to the learning process as the IQ or language aptitude of the learner. We would like to see the affective component more in terms of a process variable, a kind of metacommunicative process monitor, awareness of what is happening in the communication and why; this aspect is teachable.

The more culturally oriented part of foreign language learning seems still very much to be knowledge-oriented: People are taught "Landeskunde", "facts" about the foreign country and culture. In second language teaching this knowledge has been put into use in communicative situations, for instance in role-plays where an immigrant goes to see a Swedish or British doctor. As indicated earlier, we do not believe that much of the affective component in the sense described earlier can be taught, and we do not think that it should in most instances be learnt at the expense of the affective component of the original culture. But one way around the problem, a way to provide learners with more opportunity to judge how much of the affective cultural competence of each culture they might want to combine, would be to teach more metacultural awareness. For most people this would mean starting from their own culture, becoming more aware of its implicit presuppositions. The Swedes in our China example were very much aware of this: they said that they went to China to understand their own culture better.

It seems clear to us from the examples we have used that knowledge of a language and a culture, and sometimes even mastery of the behavioural component, does not always lead to well functioning communication. Sometimes lack of mastery of the affective cultural component and very often lack of metacommunicative and metacultural awareness may even prevent people from both using their knowledge (linguistic and/or cultural) and from behaving appropriately (linguistically and/or culturally).

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